

27 October 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director for Intelligence

FROM: Director, Office of European Analysis

SUBJECT: Comparative East European Analysis Matrix

1. Action. Letter to Ambassador Salgo for your signature.

2. EURA and OGI analysts have reviewed Ambassador Salgo's proposed matrix for comparing East European studies and we have drafted a letter to him for your signature. In addition, I am attaching a copy of an Intelligence Assessment on a related topic entitled Yugoslav Prospects for Political Instability: An Indicators Approach, GI 84-10154, September 1984. The indicators in that assessment also lend themselves to use in comparative surveys.



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Attachment:  
a/s

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27 October 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director for Intelligence

FROM: Director, Office of European Analysis

SUBJECT: Comparative East European Analysis Matrix  
(DCI signature for Ambassador Salgo letter)

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Washington, D. C. 20505

The Honorable Nicholas M. Salgo  
Embassy of the United States of America  
Budapest, Hungary

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on your innovative proposal for a comparative survey of the countries of Eastern Europe. The proposal has been carefully reviewed by our analysts in both the Office of European Analysis and the Office of Global Issues. There is a consensus among them that the proposed categories are useful and appropriate for a study of this kind. We have compiled a short list of additional categories to help flesh out the Embassy's list, and we have offered some further suggestions to help refine the list. We hope this will facilitate the analysis of the data resulting from such a survey.

We believe the following indicators would add to the completeness of the matrix:

Political

- Number of political parties
- Parliamentary independence
- Local autonomy
- Number of political prisoners
- Limits of the power of the security service

Culture and Mass Media

- Level of Samizdat publication
- Extent of censorship
- Legal vehicles for the expression of public opinion

Economic

- Administrative controls on setting wages and prices
- Role/legal authority of central planning organs

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Scholarly work in the field also offers ideas for refinement of the list. There are a number of scholars who do comparative political research on Eastern Europe. For example, in a book by Jan F. Triska and Paul M. Cocks entitled Political Development in Eastern Europe (New York: Praeger, 1977), there is a chapter entitled "External Influences on Political Change in Eastern Europe: A Framework for Analysis" by Sarah Meiklejohn Terry. Terry sets forth a checklist for comparisons and justifies its use. Three other references which compare East European countries along various categories are: Elite Studies and Communist Politics by Ronald H. Linden and Bert A. Rockman (Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh, 1984); The Politics of Modernization in Eastern Europe: Testing the Soviet Model by Charles Gati (New York: Praeger, 1974); and Innovation in Communist Systems by Andrew Gyorgy and James A. Kuhlman (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1978).

We believe that the value of the matrix would be enhanced if rules for the collection of information are carefully spelled out. For example, if the information is collected with some standard in mind (Western-style pluralism or Soviet-style orthodoxy), the results would differ significantly from an outcome not based on an explicit collection standard. Another standard might include assessing the ease of US/Western access. Finally, we recommend that you consider measuring the categories on a scale (e.g. 1 to 5, with 1 being high and 5 being low). Unless these standards are made explicit before the information is collected, it will be very difficult to interpret the information in the matrix.

In addition, I am enclosing a copy of an Intelligence Assessment on a related topic entitled Yugoslav Prospects for Political Instability: An Indicators Approach, GI 84-10154, September 1984. The indicators in that assessment also lend themselves to use in comparative surveys.

Thank you again for providing us the opportunity to comment on such a worthwhile proposal.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

William J. Casey  
Director of Central Intelligence

Enclosure

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# **Yugoslav Prospects for Political Instability: An Indicators Approach (U)**

**An Intelligence Assessment**

**Secret**

*GI 84-10154  
September 1984*

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